

THE EFFECTS OF ACCENT-APPEARANCE INCONGRUITIES IN THE WORKPLACE

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I examined the experiences of immigrants working in the U.S. by considering the construct of accent-appearance incongruity. I hypothesized that incongruity between how American or foreign an individual sounds and how American or foreign an individual looks will be related to negative workplace outcomes. This hypothesis challenges the assumptions that merely assimilating into mainstream American culture will help all individuals fit into American society. I proposed that the interpersonal discrimination resulting from stigmatized accent-appearance combinations may result in reduced job satisfaction and increased turnover intentions. However, I also proposed that having high levels of ethnic identity centrality (i.e., highly identifying with their ethnicity) or national identity centrality (i.e., highly identifying with their country of residence) may buffer these effects. Ultimately, the data did not support these hypotheses. Implications for these findings are discussed.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Immigrants currently make up 13.4% of the United States population (Lopez & Radford, 2017). It should come as no surprise that the rising immigrant population has been a hot-button issue in modern-day American politics. For example, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program was created under the Obama administration to “offer relief from removal for undocumented immigrants who came to the United States as children” (USCIS, 2014). The DACA program was subsequently phased out by the Trump administration (USCIS, 2017). However, the legal ramifications for immigrants can also be observed in other important legislation.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids employment discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, and national origin. This law defines national origin as an employee’s country of origin, and should not be conflated with race, citizenship, or color (Brady, 1996). As such, this law includes, but is not limited to, “the denial of equal employment opportunity because of an individual’s, or his or her ancestor’s place of origin; or because an individual has the physical, cultural or linguistic characteristics of a national origin group” (Frierson, 1987, pp. 97).

Bell, Kwesiga, and Berry (2010) have called for more research about the experiences of immigrant men and women, whom they refer to as the “new ‘invisible men and women’ of diversity research” (pp. 177). Bell and colleagues (2010) argued that diversity research should take a closer examination of the experiences of immigrant workers in the U.S., since immigrants are germane to organizational diversity and receive attention from both the media and politics. In their call for additional research, they specifically mentioned that future research should

investigate the role of identifiability—and its proxies—when considering the experiences of immigrants in the U.S. workforce (Bell et al., 2010).

The present study seeks to address this gap in the literature by investigating two proxies for identifying an individual as an immigrant: accent and appearance. Specifically, this study examines the unique barriers associated with intersecting accent-appearance incongruities (i.e., looking American but sounding foreign, or looking foreign and sounding American). In this paper, a study is proposed to examine the independent and interactive effects of having a foreign accent and a foreign appearance on psychological and workplace outcomes (see Figures 1 and 2). This study will provide a roadmap for future scholars interested in investigating the unique ways in which immigrants with different combinations of characteristics and identities face challenges in the context of the U.S. workplace.

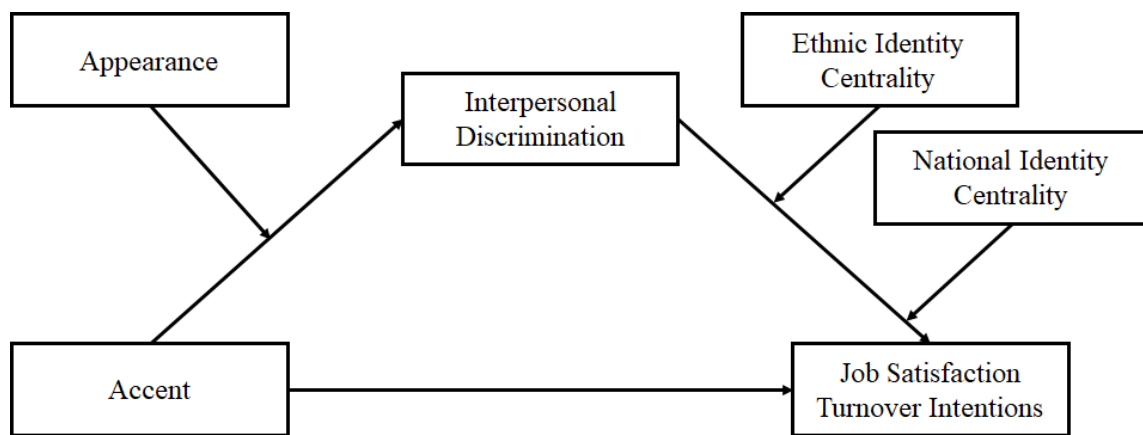


Figure 1. Theorized model of hypothesized relationships between accent, appearance, interpersonal discrimination, ethnic identity centrality, national identity centrality, and workplace outcomes.

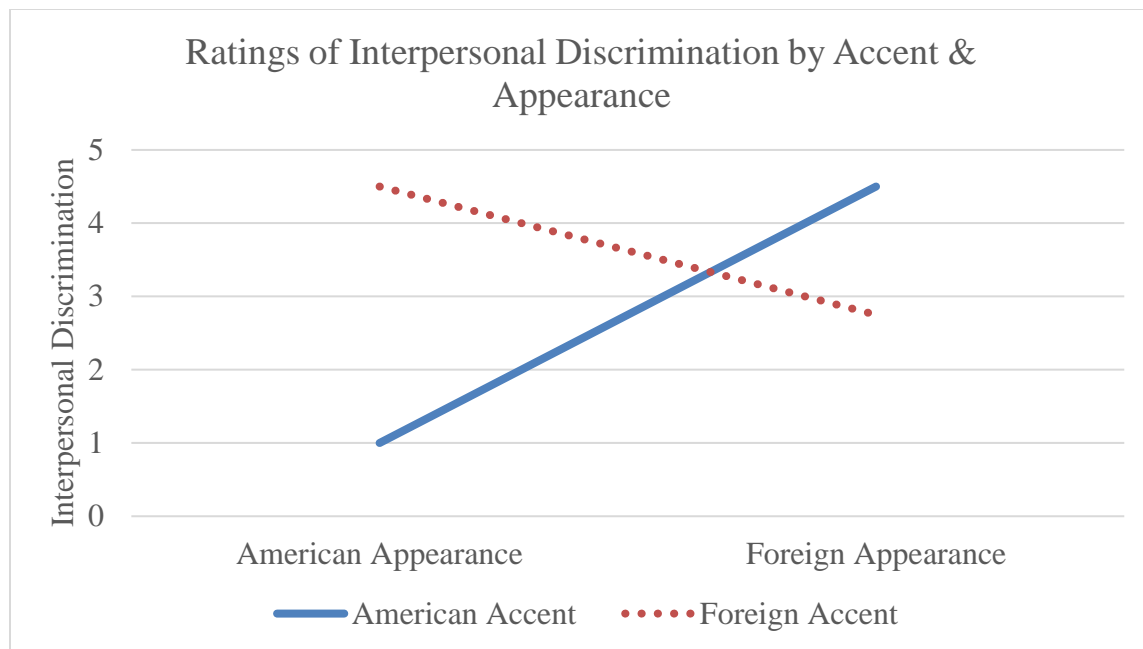


Figure 2. Expected interaction effect between accent and appearance on interpersonal discrimination

This study assesses the interpersonal consequences of accent-appearance incongruity (i.e., having a foreign accent and American appearance, or having an American accent and foreign appearance), and examine how accent-appearance incongruities are related to immigrants' psychological and workplace barriers. Additionally, ethnic identity centrality (i.e., how much one identifies with their ethnicity) and national identity centrality (i.e., how much one identifies with their host country) are proposed as buffers for the interpersonal discrimination caused by accent-appearance incongruities among U.S. immigrants.

1.1. Foreign Accent Discrimination

Discrimination based on foreign accent has received attention from both diversity practitioners and researchers, because national origin and accent are inextricably related to each other (Nguyen, 1993); research has found that when an individual learns a second language after

childhood, it is almost inevitable that they will speak that language with an accent (Munro, 1993; Flege, Munro, & McKay, 1995). Since Title VII prohibits discrimination based on national origin, it also bans discrimination based on *characteristics* accompanying foreign birth, such as foreign accent discrimination (Nguyen, 1993). In order to comply with Title VII, employers cannot discriminate based on an individual's accent without proving that unaccented English is a business necessity (Frierson, 1987; Wang & Kleiner, 2001).

It is important to examine discrimination based on accent because increased globalization has led to an unprecedented amount of interaction between people of different cultures (Hosada & Stone-Romero, 2010). Hosada and Stone-Romero (2010) argued that the way nonnative speakers are perceived by native speakers might influence the nature of these cross-cultural interactions. Although not all foreign accents are created equal (Hosada, Nguyen, & Stone-Romero, 2012; Hosada & Stone-Romero, 2010), empirical studies have shown that compared to native speakers, individuals with foreign accents are generally seen as less credible (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Tsalikis, Deshields & LaThour, 1991), and experience stress and other workplace barriers due to this accent-based discrimination (Wated & Sanchez, 2006).

A study conducted by de Souza and colleagues (2016) found that accents produced negative judgements, especially when the listeners had high levels of prejudice towards immigrants. In fact, these prejudiced native-speakers were found to leverage foreign-accented speakers' accents as a means to justify and legitimize discriminatory behavior against immigrants (de Souza et al., 2016). Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 1: Immigrants with more foreign accents will report more interpersonal discrimination, compared to immigrants with more American accents.

1.2. Foreign Appearance Discrimination

Individuals who obviously appear foreign can be vulnerable to subjective assessments of appearance, because people have negative perceptions of individuals who deviate from cultural norms associated with appearance, grooming, and dress (Mahajan, 2007). Mahajan (2007) identified three appearance-related barriers faced by minority individuals in the U.S. workforce. First, the work culture itself is a source of discrimination because the standards of appearance and behavior in workplaces are usually dictated by the ideals of the culturally dominant groups (i.e., White Americans); thus, the social and work culture prescribed by white men within the United States can set nationality minorities at a distinct disadvantage (Green, 2005; Klare, 1992; Mahajan, 2007). Second, the “ideology of White aesthetics”, defined by Kang (1996, pp. 286) promotes the unfair belief that “the physical racial features of White Americans are seen as objectively appealing and universally true whereas the physical racial features of people of color are seen as subjective and deviant” (pp. 286). Third, White Americans have a tendency to view the norms of the dominant culture (i.e., White Americans) as being race-neutral and not white-specific, also known as the “transparency phenomenon” (Flagg, 1998, pp. 1). Seemingly race-neutral standards of appearances in the workplace could signal to immigrants that they do not belong in that workplace (Mahajan, 2007; Turner, 2001). These mechanisms explain why immigrants in the United States report experiencing more negative treatment within and outside of the workplace. Indeed, studies have shown that individuals who are perceived as foreign are targeted for hate crimes (Iwama, 2018; Sherr & Montesino, 2009), and workplace interpersonal discrimination (Green, 2019; Malos, 2010; Shenoy-Packer, 2014). As such, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: Immigrants with more foreign appearances will report more interpersonal discrimination, compared to immigrants with more American appearances.

1.3. Accent-Appearance Incongruity

Although both accent and appearance have the potential to independently impact perceptions, I propose that incongruities between these aspects of an individual's immigrant identity may be especially pernicious. This is because these mismatches (e.g., sounding foreign while looking and dressing like an American or sounding American while looking foreign) may alienate individuals from both their ethnic communities and the majority community in the host country.

Social identity theory postulates that individuals categorize themselves and others into groups based on salient characteristics, such as age, gender, and race (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals' self-concepts are shaped by their membership in these identity groups (Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Reid, 2009), which serve as reference points when they compare themselves to others who are both similar and different from themselves (Hornsey, 2008; Hyman, 1960). Additionally, this process of classification and comparison affects how individuals interact with others both within and outside of their identity groups (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987). People tend to favor those who are similar to them and derogate those who are dissimilar from them. In essence, in-group members tend to be treated well, while out-group members may be subject to mistreatment.

This process of social comparison puts individuals with accent-appearance incongruities at a disadvantage, because their incongruous characteristics will likely lead to their designation as being in the "out-group", regardless of the identity of the perceiver. Indeed, immigrants with accent-appearance incongruity may be simultaneously rebuffed by members of their ethnic enclaves in the United States and rejected by mainstream American society. This idea corroborates prior research on broad identity categories, which finds that people who do not fit

neatly into a single category—who have incongruous social identities—are often excluded by others (Mor Barak et al., 2016; Zanoni et al., 2010).

As perpetual outsiders facing this dual rejection, accent-appearance incongruous immigrants may face interpersonal and psychological challenges beyond the general barriers faced by all immigrants. Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 3: Immigrants' accent and appearance will interactively impact interpersonal discrimination, such that immigrants with accent-appearance incongruity would report more discrimination, compared to their accent-appearance congruent counterparts.

1.4. Workplace Outcomes of Discrimination

1.4.1. Job Satisfaction

Interpersonal discrimination may cause employees to feel unsafe (Sekerka & Yacobian, 2018) and unwelcomed (Zambrana et al., 2017) in their workplace. Thus, employees who experience interpersonal discrimination in the workplace are likely to report lower levels of job satisfaction, compared to their colleagues who experience less discrimination (Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper, 2015). Previous research has empirically demonstrated that perceptions of discrimination negatively impact job satisfaction (Hopkins, 1980). For example, perceived racial discrimination from supervisors and coworkers was found to negatively influence job satisfaction (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001). Perceived discrimination was also found to impact job satisfaction for Hispanic employees working in the United States (Sanchez & Brock, 1996). Discrimination against immigrant job applications has been found to be commonplace in host countries, which may affect immigrants' satisfaction regarding the job application process and their future perceptions job satisfaction (Wang & Jing, 2018). Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: Interpersonal discrimination will mediate the interactive effects of accent and appearance on job satisfaction.

1.4.2. Turnover Intentions

Interpersonal discrimination may also impact an employee's turnover intentions, given that individuals are motivated to leave environments where they feel unsafe and unwelcomed (McNamara, 2012). The literature on workplace discrimination has indeed shown that perceptions of discrimination lead to increased turnover intentions (Raver & Nishii, 2010; Triana et al., 2015). Specifically, perceived racial discrimination positively impacts intentions to turnover (Triana, Garcia, & Colella, 2010). Foley, Kidder, and Powell (2002) found that perceptions of racial discrimination by Hispanic law associates increased their perceptions of a glass ceiling, which led to increased turnover intentions. Given that discrimination against immigrants is largely rooted in racism/racist beliefs, I posit:

Hypothesis 5: Interpersonal discrimination will mediate the interactive effects of accent and appearance on turnover intentions.

1.5. Identity Centrality

Identity centrality is defined by Settles (2004) as “the importance or psychological attachment that individuals place on their identities” (p. 487). Identity centrality is germane in elucidating the association between adverse events and well-being (Settles, 2004). It has also been proposed to serve as a buffer for well-being when a specific identity is related to high levels of stress (Martire, Stephens, & Townsend, 2000; Settles, 2004). Since having incongruent characteristics could be highly stigmatizing and highly stressful, ethnic identity centrality—the degree to which ethnic identity is an important component of one's identity (Sellers, Smith,

Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008)—may serve as a buffer against this identity-related stress.

Baumeister and Leary (1995) hypothesized that the need to belong was a fundamental motivation of all people and affected one's physical and emotional wellbeing. According to the belongingness hypothesis, all "human beings have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships (pp. 497, Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Many immigrants perceive isolation and loneliness when they first move to a foreign country, because feel they are out of contact with many of the individuals who once satisfied their need to belong (Hurtado-de-Mendoza, Gonzales, Serrano, & Kaltman, 2014). Immigrants who have a limited—or no—social network in the host country could experience additional stressors (Caplan, 2007), such as the challenges of being separated from their social support network, experiencing acculturative stress, and navigating an unfamiliar environment (Kene, Brabeck, Kelly, & DiCicco, 2016). This likely causes them to perceive a lack of connection and belongingness to their culture of origin as well as a disconnect from their host country, which according to the tenets of belongingness theory, will lead to negative intrapersonal outcomes.

In this study, I consider both the role of an immigrant's country of origin and the country they immigrated to, in the context of identity centrality. Specifically, ethnic identity and national identity have been found to be two independent dimensions of group identity experienced by immigrant individuals (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Ethnic identity is "an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group" (pp. 496, Phinney et al., 2001; Liebkind, 2001). National identity refers to an immigrant individual's "feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, the larger society" (pp. 497, Phinney et al., 2001; Phinney &

Devich-Navarro, 1997). If immigrants with accent-appearance incongruity identify strongly with their ethnicity or the U.S., they may be able to satisfy their needs to belong because they feel proud of their heritage (ethnic identity centrality) and/or proud of America (national identity centrality).

1.5.1. Ethnic Identity Centrality

Immigrants who possess higher levels of ethnic identity centrality may be more likely to seek out ethnic groups, religious groups, and cultural clubs. They can reap social, cultural, and psychological benefits from participating in activities with these group-members (Kim, Heo, & Kim, 2014) and these activities may serve to satisfy their need for belongingness and self-esteem (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Mellor, Stokes, Firth, Hayashi, & Cummins, 2008). Thus, high levels of ethnic identity centrality may help to buffer individuals from the specific stress, uncertainty, and mistreatment associated with possessing incongruent characteristics associated with their immigrant identities. Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 6: Ethnic identity centrality will moderate the interactive effects of accent and appearance through interpersonal discrimination on a) job satisfaction and b) turnover intentions.

1.5.2. National Identity Centrality

Another consideration is whether or not one has high levels of national identity centrality (i.e., American identity centrality), which is separate from one's ethnic identity centrality (Phinney et al., 2001). National identity centrality might be more salient than ethnic identity centrality when there is strong pressure to assimilate to the host country (Phinney et al., 2001). The United States has historically expected its immigrants to actively integrate into mainstream American culture (Hatton & Leigh, 2011). There is an underlying assumption that immigrants'

success in finding their place in American society is predicated upon their assimilation to mainstream American culture (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Pearson, 2016). Thus, it is possible that immigrants who successfully, psychologically assimilate to the United States will develop strong national identity centrality because their strong ties to their host country can fulfill their belongingness needs and bolster them against the specific experiences of discrimination associated with possessing incongruent characteristics. Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 7: National identity centrality will moderate the interactive effects of accent and appearance through interpersonal discrimination on a) job satisfaction and b) turnover intentions.

2. METHOD

2.1. Participants

Data were collected from 249 full-time employees across the U.S. recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. All of the participants were born outside of the United States, but currently live and work in the United States. The sample composed of 43% White participants and 51% Male participants. Participants were asked to submit a picture compliant with the standards for a U.S. passport photograph, as well as a vocal recording of themselves reading a standardized script (see Appendix A for instructions for photographs and vocal recordings). 239 participants submitted a voice recording that fulfilled the study requirements, and 205 participants submitted a picture that fulfilled the study requirements. Of these, 203 participants submitted *both* a voice recording and a picture that fulfilled study requirements.

2.2. Measures

2.2.1. Coding Procedures for Measures of Vocal Recordings and Facial Images

Five undergraduate research assistants who were blind to the hypotheses of the study served as coders for the pilot study. Four of the undergraduate research assistants were born within the United States and one of the undergraduate research assistants was born outside of the United States but immigrated to the US at 6 years of age. All of the undergraduate research assistants currently reside and study in the United States.

The coders were trained to rate the pictures and vocal recordings at the beginning of the study, through frame-of-reference (FOR) training before independently rating all of the vocal recordings and facial images. FOR training is used to improve rating accuracy (Roch, Woehr, Mishra, & Kieszczyńska, 2012; Woehr & Huffcutt, 1994), and generates significantly higher interrater reliability, compared to situations where FOR training was not administered

(Fehrmann, Woehr, & Arthur, 1991). To control for ordering effects, each coder rated the vocal recordings in a randomized order, after FOR training specifically for the vocal recordings.

Afterwards, another FOR training was held for the appearance ratings, followed by the coders independently rating the images in a randomized order. After the completion of the rating task, the coders were debriefed about the purposes of the study.

2.2.1.1. Measures for Vocal Recordings

Accentedness is defined as “how much a [foreign] accent differs from the variety of speech commonly spoken in the community (pp. 385, Derwing & Munro, 2005). Coders were asked “how accented is the speaker’s voice?” and rated the voices using a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (very strong American accent) to 7 (very strong foreign accent; $\alpha = .95$).

2.2.1.2. Measures for Facial Images

Foreignness was measured by asking coders “how ‘typically’ American or foreign does this person look?”. The coders responded using a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (very “typically” American) to 7 (very “typically” foreign; $\alpha = .75$).

2.2.2. Ethnic Identity Centrality

All of the participants indicated their level of ethnic identity centrality using an adapted 4-item, 7-point Likert scale (Sellers et al., 1998; $\alpha = .92$), ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Example items include “I have a strong sense of belonging to people who are [nationality]” and “being [nationality] is a major factor in my social relationships”.

2.2.3. National Identity Centrality

The participants indicated their level of national identity centrality using an adapted 4-item, 7-point Likert scale (Sellers et al., 1998; $\alpha = .92$), ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7

(strongly agree). Example items include “in general, being American is an important part of my self-image” and “being American is an important reflection of who I am”.

2.2.4. Job Satisfaction

Participants rated their job satisfaction using a 3-item, 7-point Likert scale (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1983; $\alpha = .88$), ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). An example item includes “I have been satisfied with my job”.

2.2.5. Turnover Intentions

Participants rated their turnover intentions using a 3-item, 7-point Likert scale (Seashore, Lawler, Mirvis, & Cammann, 1982; $\alpha = .93$), ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). An example item includes “I have often thought about quitting”.

2.2.6. Interpersonal Discrimination

Interpersonal discrimination was measured using a scale of experienced ostracism (Ferris, Brown, Berry, & Lian, 2008; $\alpha = .97$). This 10-item scale includes items such as “others ignored you at work” and “others at work shut you out of the conversation” with response options ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always). We used this specific measure given that ostracism, defined as “being ignored and excluded by others in an organizational setting” (pp. 2, Zimmerman, Carter-Sowell, & Xu, 2016), is the form of interpersonal discrimination that is likely to be most impacted by these accent-appearance incongruities. Indeed, these individuals are likely to be categorized as out-group members by both their native born and foreign-born peers, which according to the tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) will cause them to be excluded from informal and formal social networks (Jansen, Otten, & van der Zee, 2017).

3. RESULTS

The coders independently rated each vocal recording on accentedness, and each facial image on foreignness. Composite scores for accentedness and perceived foreignness were created by averaging the ratings across all raters. Descriptive statistics and inter-correlations for all the variables are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations Among Variables

Measure	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Foreign Accent	3.59	1.90	-					
2. Foreign Appearance	3.37	1.32	.18**	-				
3. Discrimination	1.86	1.19	0.09	0.08	-			
4. Job Satisfaction	5.04	1.38	-0.03	-0.03	-.28**	-		
5. Turnover Intentions	3.64	1.75	0.07	0.07	.24**	-.67**	-	
6. Ethnic Identity Centrality	4.74	1.54	.33**	-0.02	0.09	0.07	-0.01	-
7. National Identity Centrality	4.73	1.35	-.16*	-0.05	0.04	0.11	-0.09	-0.05

Note. $Ns = 203-242$. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

3.1. Tests of Main Effects

To test the first two hypotheses, I conducted regression analyses to determine whether foreign accent (Hypothesis 1) and foreign appearance (Hypothesis 2) were related to interpersonal discrimination (see Table 3.2). I found that interpersonal discrimination—operationalized here as workplace ostracism—was not significantly impacted by either foreign accent ($\beta = .05$, $SE = .04$, $t = 1.35$, $p = .18$) or foreign appearance ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .06$, $t = 1.165$, $p = .25$). Thus, hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 2 were both not supported.

Table 3.2 Regression Results

Factor and statistic	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²	Adj. <i>R</i> ²
Foreign Appearance	.07	.06	1.17	.25	.01	.00
Foreign Accent	.05	.04	1.35	.18	.01	.00

Note. *N* = 205-239 **p*<.05. ***p*<.01. ****p*<.001

3.2. Test of Interactive Effects

For the third hypothesis, we used Model 1 in the PROCESS Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) to determine whether accent and appearance interactively impacted interpersonal discrimination (see Table 3.3). The interaction of foreign accent and foreign appearance did not significantly impact interpersonal discrimination ($\beta = .04$, $SE = .03$, $t = 1.20$, $p = .23$). Therefore, hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Table 3.3 Interactive Effects

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	LL95%CI	UL95%CI
Foreign Accent	-.10	0.11	-.92	.36	-0.33	0.12
Foreign Appearance	-.09	0.13	-.72	.47	-0.35	0.16
Interaction	.04	0.03	1.20	.23	-0.02	0.09

Note. *N* = 203.

3.3. Tests of Moderated Mediation

To assess the fourth and fifth hypotheses and investigate the distal outcomes of accent-appearance incongruities, I used Model 7 in the PROCESS Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018), using 10,000 bootstrapped samples and a 95% confidence level for bootstrapped confidence intervals (see Table 3.4). The indices of moderated mediation were not significant for both job satisfaction and turnover intentions. The results indicate that interpersonal discrimination did not mediate the interactive effects of accent and appearance on job satisfaction ($IMM = -.01$, $SE = .01$, $LL95\%CI$

= -.04, *UL95%CI* = .01) or turnover intentions (*IMM* = -.01, *SE* = .01, *LL95%CI* = -.01, *UL95%CI* = .04). Thus, both hypothesis 4 and hypothesis 5 were not supported.

Table 3.4 Indirect Effects Across Levels of Appearance by Accent

Outcome		Foreign Appearance	Conditional indirect effect	LL95%CI	UL95%CI
Foreign Accent	Job Satisfaction	-SD	0.01	-0.03	0.07
		M	-0.01	-0.03	0.02
		+SD	-0.02	-0.07	0.02
		IMM	-0.01	-0.04	0.01
	Turnover	-SD	-0.01	-0.07	0.02
		M	0.01	-0.02	0.03
		+SD	0.02	-0.02	0.08
		IMM	0.01	-0.01	0.04

Note. *IMM* = index of moderated mediation.

3.4. Tests of Moderated Moderated Mediation

To examine the proposed buffering effects of identity centrality, I used Model 21 in the PROCESS Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018), using 10,000 bootstrapped samples and a 95% confidence level for bootstrapped confidence intervals. The indices of moderated moderated mediation were not significant for either outcome, when ethnic identity centrality was included in the model (Table 3.5) or when national identity centrality was included in the model (Table 3.6). The indices of conditional moderated mediation were also not significant for either outcome, when ethnic identity centrality *or* national identity centrality were included in the model (Table 3.7). Thus, hypothesis 6a, 6b, 7a, and 7b were all not supported.

Table 3.5 Moderated Moderated Mediation by Ethnic Identity Centrality

Outcome		Foreign App.	EIC	Conditional indirect effect	LL95%CI	UL95%CI
Foreign Accent	Job Satisfaction	-SD	-SD	.02	-.04	.10
		-SD	M	.01	-.03	.07
		-SD	+SD	.01	-.02	.05
		M	-SD	-.01	-.05	.03
		M	M	-.01	-.03	.02
		M	+SD	-.00	-.03	.02
		+SD	-SD	-.03	-.11	.03
		+SD	M	-.02	-.07	.02
		+SD	+SD	-.02	-.06	.01
		IMMM		.00	-.00	.01
Turnover		-SD	-SD	-.01	-.07	.03
		-SD	M	-.01	-.07	.03
		-SD	+SD	-.01	-.08	.03
		M	-SD	.01	-.02	.04
		M	M	.01	-.02	.03
		M	+SD	.01	-.03	.04
		+SD	-SD	.02	-.01	.08
		+SD	M	.02	-.02	.08
		+SD	+SD	.02	-.02	.08
		IMMM		.00	-.01	.01

Note. IMMM = index of moderated moderated mediation

Table 3.6 Moderated Moderated Mediation by National Identity Centrality

Outcome		Foreign App.	NIC	Conditional indirect effect	LL95%CI	UL95%CI
Foreign Accent	Job Satisfaction	-SD	-SD	.02	-.03	.09
		-SD	M	.01	-.03	.07
	Turnover	-SD	+SD	.01	-.03	.06
		M	-SD	-.01	-.04	.03
		M	M	-.01	-.03	.02
		M	+SD	-.01	-.03	.02
		+SD	-SD	-.03	-.09	.02
		+SD	M	-.02	-.07	.02
		+SD	+SD	-.02	-.07	.02
		IMMM		.00	-.01	.01
	Turnover	-SD	-SD	-.01	-.07	.02
		-SD	M	-.01	-.07	.03
		-SD	+SD	-.01	-.07	.03
		M	-SD	.01	-.02	.03
		M	M	.01	-.02	.04
		M	+SD	.01	-.02	.04
		+SD	-SD	.02	-.02	.07
		+SD	M	.02	-.02	.08
		+SD	+SD	.02	-.02	.09
		IMMM		.00	-.01	.01

Table 3.7 Conditional Moderated Mediation by Ethnic Identity Centrality and National Identity Centrality

Outcomes		Foreign App.	ICMM	LL95% CI	UL95% CI	ICMM	LL95% CI	UL95% CI
Foreign Accent	Job Satisfaction	-SD	-0.02	-0.06	0.01	-0.01	-0.05	0.01
		M	-0.01	-0.04	0.01	-0.01	-0.04	0.01
		+SD	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	-0.01	-0.04	0.01
	Turnover	-SD	0.01	-0.01	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.04
		M	0.01	-0.01	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.04
		+SD	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.01	0.01	0.05

Note. ICMM = index of conditional moderated mediation.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Summary of Results

Overall, the results of this study did not support the proposed model. Foreign accent and foreign appearance did not impact interpersonal discrimination, individually or interactively. Interpersonal discrimination did not mediate the interactive effects of accent and appearance onto the workplace outcomes of interest. Lastly, ethnic identity centrality and national identity centrality were not meaningful buffers in the proposed models. There are several possible reasons why the hypotheses were not supported.

The first possibility is that these results were true, and that foreign accent, foreign appearance, and the interaction between foreign accent and appearance do not actually impact interpersonal workplace interactions (e.g., discrimination). With regard to the direct effects, this is unlikely to be the case, given the extensive literature demonstrating that immigrants with more foreign accents (Levi-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Tsalikis et al., 1991; Wated & Sanchez, 2006) or more foreign appearances (Green, 2019; Iwama, 2018; Sherr & Montesino, 2009) report more negative experiences compared to their more American-passing counterparts. However, given the lack of prior research on the interactive effects of accent and appearance, it remains a possibility that this interaction does not exist. Indeed, it may be the case that foreign accent and foreign appearance independently impact workplace outcomes, without interacting with each other.

The second explanation could be that the wrong type of interpersonal discrimination was selected for this study. In this paper, interpersonal discrimination was operationalized as workplace ostracism. However, it may be more fitting to examine the impact of foreign accent and foreign appearance on more specific, race-based or nationality-based discrimination

outcomes, given that these forms of discrimination are likely to be more closely tied to an individual's immigrant status. Indeed, accent and appearance are often used to identify one's nationality and it would therefore be interesting to see how these characteristics impact *actual* nationality-based discrimination. Indeed, future studies may find that foreign accent and foreign appearance actually do interactively impact immigrant workers' experiences, but that these effects are mediated through more specific kinds of discrimination that are more salient to immigrant workers.

A third possibility is that the effect of accent-appearance incongruity on immigrant workers actually exists, and that workplace ostracism is a fitting mediator. However, this study may simply not have a sufficient number of participants who fit the "incongruous" criteria. When I computed the Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient to examine the relationship between ratings of foreign accent and ratings of foreign appearance, I found that these two variables are significantly correlated ($r = .18, n = 203, p < .01$). Thus, the majority of the participants in this study were likely to have accent-appearance congruity, as opposed to accent-appearance incongruity. This makes logical sense, given that U.S. immigrants who recently moved to the U.S. are likely to have both a foreign accent and a foreign appearance, whereas those who moved to the U.S. during their childhood are more likely to speak English with an American accent and adhere to U.S. norms regarding grooming and clothing. Thus, we may not have had enough variability in accent-appearance congruity patterns to observe the proposed differences.

4.2. Theoretical Implications

The current study aimed to take a nuanced look at the experiences of immigrant workers in the United States by taking into account multiple aspects of an individual's immigrant

identity. By examining how American or foreign an individual sounds and looks, I investigated the potential interactive relationships between different facets of the immigrant experience. Specifically, this study sought to examine the boundary conditions of social identity theory by investigating the other-perceptions and self-perceptions of immigrant individuals with accent-appearance incongruities. If it is true that workplace diversity researchers do not need to take immigrant employees' accent-appearance incongruities into account, researchers could focus on studying the effects of foreign accent *or* foreign appearance on workplace outcomes, without considering the interactive impact of these characteristics.

This study indicates that the negative impacts of accent-based discrimination and appearance-based discrimination may be additive in nature (i.e., the amount of discrimination experienced by individuals with foreign accents and foreign appearance can be calculated by adding the two sources of discrimination together), instead of multiplicative in nature (i.e., the disadvantages of having a foreign accent and a foreign appearance compound each other; Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Thus, researchers should also be most concerned with immigrants who have high foreign accent *and* high foreign appearance—and not individuals who have accent-appearance incongruity—because they may experience the worst interpersonal and workplace outcomes. Thus, researchers studying workplace diversity could separately examine remediation strategies for immigrants with foreign accents *or* foreign appearances.

4.3. Practical Implications

Although we did not observe the expected direct or interactive effects within the current study, the literature has established that foreign accent and foreign appearance *do* directly affect the experiences of immigrants. Since the effects of foreign accent and foreign appearance appear to be additive, and not multiplicative, organizations can design interventions that separately

address discrimination based on foreign accent and foreign appearance. Thus, organizations and employees should be mindful of the barriers and challenges that immigrants experience, in regards to both foreign accent and foreign appearance. Greater examination and awareness of these potential barriers and biases could lead to improved understanding and treatment of these employees in workplace contexts.

Alternatively, it may be possible that workplace ostracism was not the most appropriate operationalization of interpersonal discrimination for the population of interest. Organizations should be aware of discrimination that is especially salient to immigrant individuals, including discrimination related to race and nationality. These forms of discrimination may be the most impactful for immigrants living and working in the U.S. In order to address these barriers, workplaces should overtly support multiculturalism, which can be defined as recognizing and respecting the different ethnic and racial groups encompassed by the individuals living in the United States (Gottfredson, 1997). Organizations can do this by celebrating different holidays from different countries, religions, and cultures and by establishing programs designed to specifically address challenges in communication (e.g., language barriers, cultural differences in communicating habits) between colleagues from different cultures. These interventions can encourage immigrant workers to be proud of their identities and backgrounds and foster a more inclusive workplace climate.

4.4. Limitations and Future Directions

The present study was not able to detect whether foreign accent and foreign appearance interactively impacted workplace interpersonal interactions. In the future, future research could focus on recruiting only participants who experience accent-appearance incongruity, so that the experiences of this subset of immigrants can be specifically examined.

Future research should seek to establish interventions that can alleviate some of the negative experiences faced by immigrants who sound foreign and/or look foreign. The moderators of ethnic identity centrality and nationality identity centrality may need to be examined more closely to determine whether these forms of identity centrality can serve as buffers for sounding or looking foreign. Additionally, the moderators of organizational commitment, employee engagement, and diversity climate could be examined in future studies about immigrants working in the United States.

The field of workplace diversity could also be broadened by examining different outcomes related to the experiences of immigrants in the workplace. While turnover intentions and job satisfaction are important workplace outcomes to consider, it may also be beneficial to consider the impact of workplace discrimination on the well-being of immigrants working in the U.S. Future studies could examine outcomes related to well-being (e.g., stress, depression, anxiety, self-esteem), as well as other outcomes like psychological safety, perceived justice, and organizational support.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Ultimately, more research about immigrant experiences needs to be conducted, especially given that the immigrant population has been increasing rapidly in recent decades (Lopez & Radford, 2017). Furthermore, globalization and advances in technology have led to an unprecedented degree of interaction between populations in different countries (Hosada & Stone-Romero, 2010), including the advent of more intercultural virtual teams (Grosse, 2002). The onus is on industrial-organizational psychologists to conduct research that examines the workplace barriers that these groups are likely to face as well as potential remediation strategies to assuage these unique forms of discrimination. In doing so, we will be able to better understand and improve the experiences of immigrants living and working in the United States.

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APPENDIX A
STUDY MEASURES

Accentedness

1 (very strong American accent); 7 (very strong foreign accent)

How accented is the speaker's voice?

Foreign Appearance

1 (very "typically" American); 7 (very "typically" foreign)

How "typically" American or foreign does this person look?

Ethnic Identity Centrality (adapted from Sellers et al., 1998)

1 (strongly disagree); 7 (strongly agree)

In general, being [nationality] is an important part of my self-image.

I have a strong sense of belonging to people who are [nationality].

Being [nationality] is an important reflection of who I am.

Being [nationality] is a major factor in my social relationships.

National Identity Centrality (adapted from Sellers et al., 1998)

1 (strongly disagree); 7 (strongly agree)

In general, being American is an important part of my self-image.

I have a strong sense of belonging to people who are American.

Being American is an important reflection of who I am.

Being American is a major factor in my social relationships.

Job Satisfaction (Cammann et al., 1983)

1 (strongly disagree); 7 (strongly agree)

I have been satisfied with my job.

I don't like my job.

I like working at my current job.

Turnover Intentions (Seashore et al. 1982)

1 (completely disagree) 7 (completely agree)

I have often thought about quitting

I have felt I would be looking for a new job during the next year.

I have felt it is likely I will leave my job in the next year.

Interpersonal Discrimination (Ferris, Brown, Berry, & Lian, 2008)

1 (never); 7 (always)

Others ignored you at work.

Others left the area when you entered.

Your greetings have gone unanswered at work.

You involuntarily sat alone in a crowded lunchroom at work.

Others avoided you at work.

You noticed others would not look at you at work.

Others at work shut you out of the conversation.

Others refused to talk to you at work.

Others at work treated you as if you weren't there.

Others at work did not invite you or ask you if you wanted anything when they went out
for a coffee break

Instructions for Submitting Vocal Recording

We are conducting a study that requires individuals to read a standardized answer to an interview question. These recordings will be used to understand the validity of phone-interviews.

In order to gather the recordings, we will be utilizing Google Voice. You will be required to call in and read a short script to this Google voicemail service. This script is a response to the interview question “Why should we hire you?”. Please practice reading the script multiple times before calling in, and act as though you are participating in a real job interview. See full instructions below:

- Please find a quiet place, indoors, with little to no ambient noise.
- Then, call the number xxx-xxx-xxxx, wait for the tone, and then wait 2 additional seconds.
- Read the following sentence, “Well, for starters, I am passionate about the work that this company does. I have been told that I work well with others and consider communication to be a strong skill of mine. Additionally, I am a hard worker and am eager to expand my skill set.”
- If you are unhappy with your recording, please say “Delete this recording” and then dial back in again. We encourage you to call in as many times as you would like to enhance the accuracy and believability of the script.

Instructions for Submitting Facial Image

We are conducting a study that requires individuals to submit a facial image. See full instructions below:

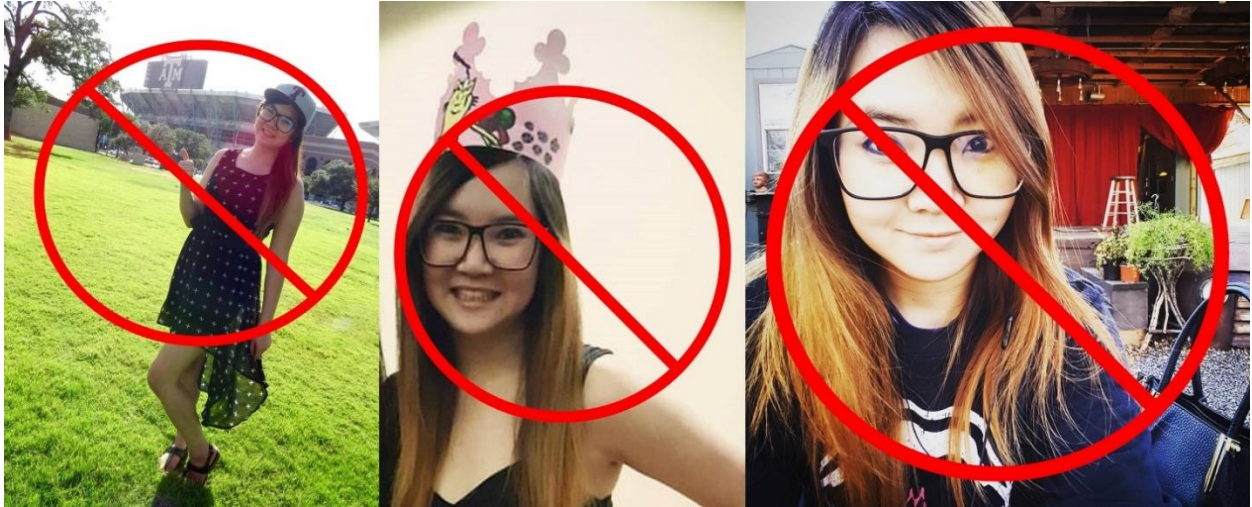
Please take a picture of your face using your cell phone or your computer. The photo must be:

- In color
- Sized such that the head is between 50% and 70% of the image's total height from the bottom of the chin to the top of the head
- Taken in front of a plain white or off-white background
- Taken in full-face view directly facing the camera
- With a neutral facial expression and both eyes open
- With hair tucked behind the ears
- With no eyeglasses
- With no hats or head covering, unless worn daily for a religious purpose
- With no jewelry on

Example of Appropriate Facial Image:



Examples of Inappropriate Facial Images:



Once you have taken a picture using your computer or cell phone, please upload the image by clicking the “Choose File” button below, and selecting the image file.